/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
• 167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[799] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
[668] this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/11 cont./

101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

[114] 10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Teñi (Teýi) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even [114] for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination: I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avátxiripá, but different from the Txiripá í (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not [115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapûté.

[361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions [657] of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as • 167 far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114] 11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

2: Schaden--12 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/12 cont./

101 confusion between Kayová and the Mbüá, it is
• 167 understood that the former advanced as far as
[114] the Lower Tibaji /Tibagí/ in their migrations.

619 In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in
114 the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

101 Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it
186 will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./ I have not infrequently noted that the Mbüá of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Ñandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá ĩ (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavánte"). In turn the Ñandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbüá, as we saw, Txeinũ (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom we call Uĩtxĩ." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Ñandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Ñandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 [648] Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, • 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the [789] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafliguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a [361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/12 cont./

175 361 [62] In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or almost totally, dispersed (15).

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./ One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-58).

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175 167 [361] The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is found.

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The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbüá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory contiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

[361]

2: Schaden--15 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/13 cont./

• 167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

2: Schaden--197 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/155 cont./

538 182 184 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of beliefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 177 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 177 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbüá of the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
• 167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 177 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá poĩpẽ, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

2: Schaden--198 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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539 177 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and, when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "TupÍ" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many people.

538 167 182 It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components [829] of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá potxý.

/162 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

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539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
702 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

701 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

701 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
702 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykey,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

• [167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

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772 As though ecstatic, the ñanderú Sebastião of Araribá describes the pleasures of Paradise to me. The yvý ñomimbyré is "more like the skies than like earth." There is a big lagoon there; in the center of it a very high cross, from which a small shower falls every day (Okurutsúgui odjidjóú oky ráivi); at the foot of the cross, a "little sheep of gold." (Obviously bound up with the golden calf of the Bible and with the Lamb of God.) There are fruits in abundance; one who finds himself there /168/ lives only on fruit and without working. One cuts off a hand of bananas, turns his back, and there is already another in its place. At yvý ñomimbyré nobody dies. Sebastião explains: "When he becomes so old, suddenly he becomes very young, he does not die." The wife of the ñanderú adds: "One who goes there from here does not die either." And he finishes: "This world is immediately forgotten." -- According to Sebastião's doctrine, the yvý ñomimbyré is not the realm of the souls of the dead (ayvúporãguẽ): these pass through there and go on. In Paradise people live without clothes ("with body"), but adorned with ornaments of feathers, not doing anything but dance the religious dances of the tribe. The "ancient people" succeeded in going there and staying; but it was because they abstained from taking drink ("spirit beverages") and did not cook their food with grease or season it with salt. It was said: "Idjáguydjẽ odjé óivy yvý ñomimbyrére," they went to Paradise. Nowadays it would be possible to go there by airplane. -- Prayers also come from the yvý ñomimbyré. The chief ñanderú (chief--prayer-man) of Paradise sends them by means of spirits who by chance go by there.

772 771 167 173 Some years ago the two oldest inhabitants of Bananal -- Pedro Botuca (now deceased) and Ermelina -- both already natives of the coast, told me at length about the journey of the previous generation, who, under the leadership of Capitão Guatsú, came from Mato Grosso, in order "to see the sea" and to make ñemongaraí on the beach. It was said that the world was coming to an end. Many stayed in the village of Alecrim, others returned to Mato Grosso. Many ñanderú prayed that Nanderykey would come to look for them. At night all prayed; in the morning they went into the forest to seek fruit and honey, but no game,

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/169 cont./ 2. The Mbüá

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Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

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With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

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It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

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/170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

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771 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the re-
178 ligious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which
[182] the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure.
771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land
772 never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer,
[756] Ketxuſta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuſta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that
[177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero
797 and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many
• 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves
181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres-
[184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

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771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The tianderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 [796] Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

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/174 cont./ the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

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The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

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3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

101 THE Cayuá, frequently also called Caingué, and less frequently Calowá, Caingá, Caiguá, and other similar designations,[6] are a Guarani-speaking [657] people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and 131 *reservas* of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All * 167 the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on *175 the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's[7] and other accounts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818–1826), however, Cayuá territory was extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1832–1850.[8] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[9] This river is part of the east-to-[161] west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto de Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[10] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory thus seems well corroborated.[11]

*174 The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians 501 until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[12] Sampaio also gives the impression

[6] Godoi, 1946, refers to a group of "Paingué" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Paingué proper were a Guaicuruan tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [7] Rengger, 1835. [8] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 204.

[9] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [10] Sampaio, 1890.

[11] Godoi, 1946, *passim*, makes a rather weak case for the long tenancy of the "Paingué," (Cayuá) in the region of Piracumunga, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupí-Guarani peoples in the region since early times, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Paingué." [12] Von Koenigswald, 1908, *passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

and ancient Guayra,[20] that most early writers appear to have thought it unnecessary to comment specifically upon the manners of any of the groups which they vaguely designated as "Cayuá." They assumed that virtual cultural and linguistic identity existed among all of the Guarani-speaking peoples of the region. It is stated by early chroniclers that the Guarani-speaking Indians were divided into numerous, small local groups. These groups were said to take as designations the names of their particular band chiefs (?) or of the places where they lived. Other than that, it was held, there was nothing to distinguish one group from another, nor hence, "Cayuá" groups from "Guarani" groups. But after the European entry the two terms became fixed and they gradually acquired what was, in effect, acculturational significance. That is, "Cayuá" referred to Indians much less in contact with the whites than "Guarani."

Métraux,[21] and Klimek and Milke,[22] who statistically analyze Métraux's material, seem to feel that there were more than likely some cultural differences, not only among the various coastal Tupi groups of central and northern Brazil and the southern linguistic affiliates, but also among so-called Guarani and Cayuá groups themselves. The actual picture is considerably obscured by several conditions. In the first place, contemporary writers of the earliest period of contact, as has been pointed out, tended to lump all the "Guarani" together. To them there was no particular cultural and linguistic distinction, even between "Guarani" of the south and "Tupi" of the coast and the north. (Indeed, the facts of European colonial politics and political geography largely serve to explain the different names given, not any actual appreciation by early writers of existing cultural differences.) In the second place, the early accounts of the different sections of the Tupi-Guarani family are not all from the same period. Thus some of the differences which are apparent to present-day readers of the literature may be a reflection of the different times at which the accounts were written. Whatever the real differences, the appearance of impressive similarities of culture and language, over large distances or long periods of time, among the Cayuá and other Tupi-Guarani peoples cannot be denied. It is likely, when the ultimate connections and migrations of the Tupi-Guarani have been worked out, that the Cayuá will be seen to have migrated to their present southern position, along with other related groups, from somewhere much closer to equatorial Brazil than their habitat during the last five or more centuries. This would go far toward explaining the marked cultural similarities which have so impressed both early and contemporary writers. But it would not deny the possibility of significant differences among Guarani-speakers at the time of the Conquest.

[20] The territory today roughly comprised by the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

[21] Métraux, 1928. [22] Klimek and Milke, 1935.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Apparently the *paʔi* were closely bound up with the revivalistic tendencies of various Tupi-Guarani cultures, and especially with their messianic aspects. The movements noted among the Tupinambá are similar in many ways to those subsequently denoted "revivalistic movements" in North America; and the coastal Tupi impulses were even more like the later movements among the southern Tupi-Guarani. It is not known whether any such movements occurred in history of the Cayuá prior to the 19th century. In the Jesuit accounts there are hints of what may have been incipient phases of such movements among the Guarani, but presumably the drastic repressive action of the priests scotched them before they had a chance to spread far. Powerful shamans and their predictions (and maledictions against the Catholics) appear always to have been central in these affairs. The close similarity of the 19th century movements of the Cayuá and the Apapocuva-Guarani to those of other Tupi-Guarani, even though remote in space or time, probably justifies us in treating the matter as evidence of a more or less constant potential of these related cultures. Properly stimulated, this potential produced surprisingly like results in various places and at various times. At base, the movements seemed to depend upon the prophetic statements of powerful shamans: in view of impending great changes in their present situation, a new mode of behavior was in order, a change of their way of life (though the change might be backward-looking), to prepare themselves for the great day. Thus occurred in the histories of a number of these peoples large-scale migrations in search of "the land of no evil." Little as is known of them, the Cayuá movements are generally similar to the somewhat better documented impulses of other groups. It is possible that the Cayuá, because of their belated direct contact with Europeans and their longer avoidance of such contacts, had less reason for the development of messianic cults.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *maíz*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *bendito*.[84] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembetá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[85]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,[86] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[87] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late C[illegible]an-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[85] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Taquapirí, certainly no older than 50 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups.

[86] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [87] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

they would attain "the land of no evil."[98] Beyond the immediate reason of their search for the promised land, and the prophetic leadership of powerful shamans, little more is known as to what other causes, if any, were present in their situation to explain the migration impulses. Were these messianic movements related to factors of white contact, for example, as they have been in other places?

That Cayuá participated, perhaps both as members of "Guarani" groups as well as in their own Cayuá bands, is indicated. Nimuendajú mentions one or two Cayûá in the "Guarani" groups he studied. It is also known, as has been mentioned, that between 1832 and 1850 Cayuá bands were entering the states of Paraná and São Paulo, to the east of their native habitat.[99] Both Sampaio and von Koenigswald, writing around the turn of the century, report Cayuá still in the valley of the Paranapanema, supposedly where they had been arrested in the course of their eastward pilgrimage.[100] Sampaio merely reports their presence and makes a few comments on the Indians, including a brief Cayuá vocabulary; but von Koenigswald goes a bit farther, apparently recognizing that the valley of the Paranapanema was not the original Cayuá habitat. Unaware (?), however, of the messianic-religious nature of their impulse to migration, von Koenigswald attributes the presence of the Cayuá here simply to disturbances and strife which had caused them to remove eastward from their homeland. This does not explain, first, why (apparently) only small numbers of the total Cayuá migrated. Second, why should this migration to escape white disturbances have taken a direction which would obviously bring the Cayuá into much closer contact than ever with westward moving Europeans? Their erstwhile career had always been one of avoidance.

A map published in 1911 gives some idea of the Cayuá remnants to be seen east of the Rio Paraná in that year.[101] Baldus discusses briefly the state of acculturation in 1928 of a group of Guarani (still extant) who at least achieved their purpose of reaching the ocean—near Santos. Their original desire was not thus to be consummated, certainly, as they found there no "land without evil."[102]

No study earlier than that of Nimuendajú is known of the Apapocuva part in the movement, and none at all is known of the role of the Cayuá. It may safely be assumed that the Cayuá motives were much akin to those of the Apapocuva-Guarani on the basis of their general cultural and linguistic similarity, their contiguous location, and the contemporaneity of the migra-

[98] Unkel, 1914.

[99] Godoi, 1946, p. 15, very unconvincingly maintains that there were already sizeable numbers of long-established "Paiguá" (Cayuá) in the state of São Paulo, at least at one locality, the *municipio* of Pirassununga, but presumably also more widely scattered. Although this particular case is poorly made and his scholarship inadequate, the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed, granted the rather inconclusive state of pertinent documentary sources.

[100] Sampaio, 1890; Von Koenigswald, 1908.

[101] Watson, J. B., 1945, or Von Ihering, 1911. [102] Baldus, 1929.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

tions of the two groups. In their migration, the Cayuá, as well as the Apapocuva, reaffirmed their affinity with Tupi-Guarani cultures in general; for as Métraux has argued, the cultures of these peoples are somewhat disposed toward religious movements of messianic character, and the migration from southern Brazil is therefore by no means unique.[188]

We do not know whether all groups of Cayuá (and "Guarani") participated to some extent in the movement or not. Whether the groups found today in the traditional habitat of the Cayuá were uniformly non-participants or were merely involved to a lesser extent are questions to which the answers are likewise unknown. Such details might be most significant in bringing out further the character of the movement, its messianic aspects and the role of the shamans. Certainly not all groups were equally fervent in their resolution to carry on in spite of difficulties and obstacles. The main idea seems to have been that the everyday work of the people would no longer be necessary in life, as soon as the spiritual aims, particularly the finding of "the land of no evil," were accomplished. Regular economic pursuits were to be abandoned, therefore, and the people were to prepare themselves spiritually for what was prophesied to come. Dancing ceremonies were a prominent part of the spiritual preparation, and certain groups, although probably not all—not even from the start, set out across country to find the promised land. This place was identified as being near the Atlantic Ocean, or somehow connected with it. Some groups, however, either turned back as a unit or lost a part of their cohorts as soon as they encountered the initial obstacles. Doubt and dissension as to whether to continue seem to have arisen at various times in their travels, and practically all groups finally abandoned their objective before ever reaching the ocean. An important factor in the strength of conviction of different groups was probably the prestige of their respective shaman leaders, and the extent to which the shamans themselves believed in their prophesies and trusted their interpretations of supernatural portents.

The resistance of Brazilian settlers in the territories through which the pilgrims must pass was apparently very important in deflecting them from their purpose. This contact is important in Cayuá acculturation for it was the most intense and direct meeting of Cayuá with Europeans up to that date. While doubtless some groups were affected by contact much more than others, there was at least a residual effect on groups who may not have migrated at all or who may not have arrived in such proximity to the settlers as the most advanced migrants. There is no indication that the Cayuá were themselves generally aggressive in their relations with the Neo-Brazilian population, and, indeed, it would be very surprising if such were the case. Some of the relations were nevertheless marked by hostility and disadvantage to the Indians.[189]

In retrospect, the record of this most significant chapter in the history of

[188] Métraux, 1927, *passim*. [189] Cf. Watson, J. B., 1945, pp. 12-13.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

VI. SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

WAS CAYUÁ ACCULTURATION GRADUAL AND PACIFIC?

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A SUMMARY of the acculturation of the Cayuá of Brazil could scarcely fail to point out that these people have not been completely displaced territorially, although they have been located on rather small reservations; nor have they been uprooted culturally, though their sociocultural character has undergone considerable change over several centuries. The local groups of the tribe still live a way of life which presents a picture both of organization and of notable continuity with the aboriginal past. Unfortunately, however, no close comparison of the degree of organization of the modern culture and the aboriginal Cayuá can be made. Such a comparison would justify us in concluding more about the overall effect of acculturation. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Cayuá local groups have not been broken but in fact demonstrate much cohesion.

The Cayuá have not been obliged to turn to some alien economy for their mainstay but for the most part only to modify the relationship among different components of the aboriginal economy. Providentially this was possible with a minimum of stress through adopting white technological traits, principally several metal cutting tools of great agricultural utility. Other than that shift, which was one of degree rather than of kind, the major economic novelty has been agricultural and extractive wage-work for the settler. Even this, however, is limited in its effect. The full list of acculturational changes of the Cayuá is longer, as anyone who has followed the discussion this far will recognize, but those just mentioned include most of the factors of the primary list in the analysis.

Yet it would be easy to be wrong, in casting up an idea of the whole of Cayuá acculturation, if one were to conclude from the present cultural adjustment that the course of change in the past was unmarked by stormier times. The possibility of error is greater the less detail there is of the history of Cayuá contact with whites, and this sort of knowledge is distinctly limited. There are only one or two hints, which unavoidably remain unelaborated, of earlier significant acculturational difficulties. One is the fact that Cayuá migrations of a messianic order took place in the early middle 19th century (see pp. 51–54), and these migrations likely were connected with disturbing influences of white contact. The other hint is less certain and one for which no confirmation was found, that the birth rate of at least some groups of Cayuá was dropping dangerously at one time. Allegedly this went on until it reached such a point that the people themselves became concerned, whereupon they took deliberate steps to correct the situation. According to a local white woman, these steps included public exhortation of the women against the use of contraceptives

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6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil, "*Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 112-140.

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupí-Guaraní peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupí-Guaraní peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in the post-Columbian period.

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and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

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/301 cont./ /fn. 2 cont./ from the çorocotoquys to the payçunos two, and near them are the çurumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

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/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

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on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

/303 cont./

177 181 ● 169 there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

169 177 799 /304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

174 169 Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[72] Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

Tupinamba SO9
Guarani SM4
Tupi SN7

Ta 175 167 /305 cont./

left in about 1600, arrived ten years later on the middle course of the Amazon on the island of the Tupinambarana after staying at the sources of the Madeira not far from the Andes. The last G 175 167 in date of these ethnic movements of mystical origin is the one which led the Apapokúva-Guarani-/Apapocuva/ from the frontier of Paraguay to the coast of Brazil and which lasted more than a century, from 1810 to 1912.

Ti 175 167 The vague knowledge that the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had about the marvels of the Inca Empire explains the trek toward the west of some of these migrations. Having arrived at the sea-coast and seeing that it was impossible to reach the "Land without affliction" in this direction, it is possible that the Tupi began to look for it in the other direction, as did several groups of the Apapokúva-Guarani not long ago. The prestige of the Inca civilization doubtless must have influenced their decision, and in many cases they certainly tended to merge it with that mythical land where they wanted so ardently to go.

Ti [174] If I risk this hypothesis, it is because of the impossibility of explaining otherwise this rush toward Peru which took place in the 16th century among certain Tupi tribes of the coast of Brazil. Ta 174 175 167 993 Such a point of view is not too bold, for otherwise how could one justify the eagerness displayed by the Tupinamba to reach Peru after going up the Amazon in the effort they made in 1539 to enter the "land of immortality and eternal rest"? How can one explain why the Tupinamba came a century later to settle temporarily on the upper Madeira near the Andes, when they too were pursuing the chimera of the "Land without affliction" (2)?

2. When I was concerned with this migration (see Métraux, 1, pp. 22-24), I had believed, on the strength of Acuña, that the cause had been the desire to escape the tyranny of the Portuguese. Nevertheless I was not surprised to learn later while reading Heriarte's book (pp. 41-42) that these Tupinamba had undertaken this long exodus to seek the "Land without afflication." The passage in question is of the greatest interest and must be

G 193 /308 cont./
193 Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god.
195 Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture
GU gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú
[196] mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the
[193] beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G 177 There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out
193 with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G 167 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from
174 having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G [192] When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the desire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each
G 174 village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the even-
167 ing around the fire or at the time of the great collective drink-
721 ing bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their
[197] turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

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Contingents from several neighboring villages combined, probably in order to face together the perils of the road (1).

1. In the course of the survey he conducted on the Paraguay River by order of Governor Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Martínez Irala had the chance to question some Guarani near Puerto de los Reyes, one of whom gave him the following information, which throws light on the manner in which these migrations took place: "asked if there are some houses of his race ahead of them, he said that, yes, there were five or six principals; asked if they go for the metal to the sierra where they extract it, he said that they are not accustomed to go there because they are few and have enemies nearby, but those of the last houses go sometimes and he went there once; asked how much time it takes from here to where the metal is, he said that it takes five moons; asked with whom he went for the said metal, he said that in the past many principals from paguay and Indians from the port that they call ytatyn came, and, passing through a land called ytapua, which is a four-day trip from the last houses of his race, those of the said house going in search of said metal, they met on the way and went together and came to a house of Indian slaves, enemies of theirs, and that from there they returned with all their men and also some of those from ytatyn, and the others went on, and I have heard it said that they took the said five moons to get to where the said metal was ..." /translated from the Spanish/ (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 349-350).

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174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
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1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

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174 167 72 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 72 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, [142] [481] the Guaraní, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guaraní is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

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167 194 72 [484] those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 129 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

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/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside [252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

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[262] Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such
G a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild
[271] thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

G "Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were ac-
[721] companying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatín who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala, p. 350.)

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167 Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the
721 Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented
C difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody
167 sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

C G /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez
175 Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de
484 Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

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175 I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de
169 Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied
484 as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors
[162] of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

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114 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things
175 in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time
169 nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several
484 decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries.
174 Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the

C G
175 Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion.
169 The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route
648 Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not
484 succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

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Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

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Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

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Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

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The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

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for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

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/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

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The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

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/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

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This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

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/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

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/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

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decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la Sierra."

In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River; that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text continues on p. 41]

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175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
169 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
CG had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
169 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
487 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

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there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

Guarayu SF11
Guarani SM4

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2,000 to 3,000 Indians "who left their fatherland to go to settle in foreign territory... When these Indians arrived at a place 30 leagues from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, they settled there and called it Itatin, thus alluding to their native province. They stayed there and immediately began to sow." (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 207)

Some years later these same Itatin assassinated Nufrio de Chaves, who had come to their villages to accompany Felipe de Carceres and the Bishop of Asunción, Francisco Pedro de la Torre, who was going back to Paraguay. It is strange that these Indians killed the man who had made them change their fatherland and found a new nation between Xaray /322/ and Santa Cruz. Some say that this murder had revenge as its motive; others, the violence of Nufrio de Chaves, who addressed severe admonitions to the caciques. However that may be, the Spanish avenged the death of this conquistador by massacring guilty and innocent with their usual ferocity when a weaker people was concerned. On the return trip, Carceres and his band had to fight the Itatin of Paraguay, who harassed him and often put them in a difficult situation. (See Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 207-215; Groussac, pp. 294-314 and Gandía, 2, pp. 134-140.)

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It was the Spanish then who transplanted the Itatin to Bolivia. It is not impossible that several Guarani groups were already established in the country, having come either from Paraguay or from regions occupied by the Chiriguano.

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The recent date of the settlement of the Itatin between the San Miguel River and the Blanco River explains a passage from an Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 918) of 1589 where allusion is made to the pain of a woman who dies without avenging herself for the slap she had received from a Spaniard 20 years before in Paraguay. That takes us back more or less to the year of Nufrio de Chaves' trip to Peru, thus to 1564. If the Itatin followed the Spaniards willingly, it is because the previous migrations of the Guarani had familiarized them with these regions and made them consider such an expedition as an easy and normal thing. By accompanying the Spaniards they were imitating their neighbors and going near their relatives.

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Thus, it is in 1564 that the Guarayú nation was formed.

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In emigrating to the foot of the Andes, the Guarani had to win their present territory from populations who, like them, had formerly come from the basin of the great rivers of tropical America.

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In spite of the similarity of their original habitats, the Indians dispossessed by the Guarani were superior to them in civilization. The Chiriguano even today scornfully style them tapîi, that is, "enemies," but they call themselves Chané, and it is by this name that they appear in history from the first half of the 16th century.

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The Chané, hard-working farmers and past masters in the art of pottery, belong to the great Arawak linguistic family.

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The role of the Arawak in the development of civilization in South America has been considerable. Unfortunately, lacking any work of synthesis (1), it is still difficult to

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1. Max Schmidt's thesis (1) on the Arawak contains some interesting facts. It should be redone because its documentation is completely insufficient. Max Schmidt took almost no notice of the old literature.

appreciate the true value of /323/ the civilizing work they accomplished in swarming over a great part of the continent. It is possible, if not certain, that they were propagators of cultural elements borrowed from the peoples of Central America rather than original creators. Nevertheless, wherever they settled they formed centers of civilization whose radiance is undeniable. In the whole region east of the Andes where ceramics of fine quality flourished or still flourish, one can

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suspect the existence or influence of an Arawak tribe. Is proof wanted? On the banks of the Amazon, from the mouth to the tributaries of its upper course, one finds at each step remains of a pottery with great richness of ornamentation and varied forms; wherever the spade has brought these remains to light, history attests to the presence, present or past, of an

/325 cont./
of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later: "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

Modern *Cainguá* (*Caaiguá*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbwiha, Ava-mbihá, Caayguá, Apyterè, Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Cainguá*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuá-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocaí River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Paĩ'* (*Terenõhẽ*), who live north of the Jejui-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Cainguá* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuva* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Cainguá* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemí River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemi River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guazú, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahí River. The *Tañyguá*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemí River (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

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The ancient habitat of the *Oguauíva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauíva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

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The other *Cainguá* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Cheiru*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemí; the *Avahuguai*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupaynã River (Mato Grosso); the *Yvytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catanduva Jatahy*, in the same State.

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The *Apapocuva*, *Tañyguá*, *Oguauíva*, and *Cheiru* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Avahuguai*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yvytyiguá*, *Avachiripá*, and

[1] There are also *Cheiru* in Paraguay near the Guaira Falls.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

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[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

175 /5 cont./
648 there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of
726 Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their
[727] garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

174 Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it pro-
175 vides us with two important clues about the first immigration
● 167 of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King
648 Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

5. Moreno II, p. 90.

/5 cont./

174 175 167 645

It thus follows that the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní described in Father Alcaya's report and the settling of the Guaraní on the cordillera must have taken place after García's expedition. An even more certain clue is given us by a passage in the report which mentions the name "Mango Inga" (6). The following is said there: The Xaraye "gave them

6. Moreno II, p. 86.

more definite news of the señores and showed them silver clasps and small silver rings for their bows, which King Guacane had sent them from Grigota, scarcely 100 leagues away, and similarly gave them certain news of Mango Inga, who was not resting after his new conquest toward the north and the east, but was hastening to put into effect and overrun the land with his good government." Mango Inga was the legitimate successor of the Inca Huascar, who had been killed by his brother Atahualpa, whom Pizarro, at his request, had helped to realize his claims to the throne and with whom he entered the Inca capital on November 15, 1533. This Inca Manco died after his variable battles with the Spaniards in the year 1544. According to this, the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní and the first settlement of the Guaraní on the crests of the cordillera in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco, which was contemporaneous with those battles, must have occurred between 1533 and 1544, and probably at the beginning of this period of time, because the last years of Inca Manco's life were much taken up with his battles against the Spaniards. According to Dr. Manuel Domínguez' opinion (7), García's expedition took

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7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez: "Paraguay-Bolivia. Cuestión de limites." Lectures. Asunción, 1927, p. 11. Cf. Moreno II, p. 84.

place between 1524 and 1526. This is very much in accord with the fact that the Guaraní, who through García's expedition had learned of the riches of Perú, and beyond that had received reports of the riches of the country belonging to the brothers /6/ Guacane and Condori through the Indians of the llanos, determined about ten years later to emigrate in large numbers, accompanied by their women and children, to this rich land. We must then fix the first settlement of the Guaraní in the regions in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco as having taken

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114 175 167 648 place after García's expedition. But it is possible that in the interval, and perhaps also before García's expedition, the Guaraní might have made smaller forays to the western regions "to the land within," as is said in the report of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Doubtless it is one of these forays that is dealt with in the description given to Alvar Núñez by a Guaraní who had lived among the Charayes. The Indians of his generation, that is, the Guaraní of Itatí, "sent out a great call and held a gathering of Indians of the whole land, and they went to the land and the settlement of the land within." They made war upon the Indians of this land and took from them the sheets and jewels that they had of gold and silver, despoiled many towns, and killed many Indians. But afterward their adversaries joined together, attacked them in great number, and killed nearly all of them. The rest fled into the mountains (8). On the sixth day after his departure

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8. Moreno II, p. 86. Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, Comentarios historicos, N. 35, pp. 100, 102, and 103.

from Xarayes, Alvar Núñez met some of those Indians who had fled to the desert after their defeat. Some of them, whose age Alvar Núñez calculated to be 35, stated that they were unable to give any information about the route which the Guaraní had then followed in their foray, because they had been very young at the time. Following this information, we must suppose that this unsuccessful foray on the part of the Guaraní to the west must have taken place in the year 1543. Between the expedition of Alvar Núñez and that of the Portuguese Alejo García, which, according to Dr. M. Domínguez, took place between 1524 and 1526, there is a period of about 20 years, and Alvar Núñez could only guess at the age of those Indians who said that they had still been very young at the time of the said foray. Thus this foray might have taken place, according to what is ascertained from the clues based on the age of those

/6 cont./

Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori, since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní, after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with the various native groups of the lands through which they passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians, they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they

8: Schmidt--24 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

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C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

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The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gi 177 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.